/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

[285] The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

285 Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
[482] and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[573] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Although today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
463 smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[326] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft
[335] is only a side line and that is all.

439 Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade. Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

415 [160 cont.]
482 The harvested crops are transported on horseback, but more
[492] often on the backs of men...or women. For this purpose the "Méo" of both sexes have pack-baskets which they carry on their backs, fastened to their shoulders by two straps. (Photo 157, Plate 40; photo 107, Plate 39.) This method of carrying burdens applies
[854] also to the transport of small children, whom the "Méo" women place on their backs, enclosed in a sort of sack held at the shoulders by two suspenders. (Photos 103 and 419, Plate 39.) It is the same for the transport of water, which is done by means of large trunks of female bamboo, often fastened together in pairs, with the interior partitions punched through, except for the lowest one. (Photo 346, Plate 36.)

[161] Like the other groups, the "Méo" construct almost all
326 the objects they use. There are found among them blacksmiths who make the agricultural implements of iron (ploughs, harrows, bill-hooks, scythes), silversmiths for the jewelry in silver, copper, or iron.

Every "Méo" is more or less a basket maker, and in all of the
285 homes pack-baskets are made, of rattan or bamboo fiber, of which each member of the household possesses a specimen of a size corresponding to his strength.

[294] The clothing likewise is made at home. The hemp is harvested
248 in the bottoms of the cirques and the valleys, broken up and stripped with big wooden combs. It is then spun by hand by the women,
283 then wrapped about a frame with horizontal arms, pivoted on top of a tripod (photo 128, Plate 43), and finally it is wound on bobbins and
286 woven by means of primitive looms, very much like the looms which one finds in remote corners of France. (The house in the foreground on the left in photo 347, Plate 41, shows a portion of one of these
294 looms.) The garments are frequently made in white, with the raw
[386] linen thus obtained. The dyeing of the materials in indigo, red, or green, moreover, is carried out by the processes already indicated for the other groups. We already have mentioned that the "Méo"
[531] employ likewise the process of designing in wax described in connection with the "Man-tien."

[161 cont.]

177 439 294 Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on, used in their embroidery.

531 294 868 The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not expect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly decorated pieces of their wedding costumes.

273 The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fermentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of the stills already described.

317 439 The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making coffins.

326 [411] The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels, of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, suspended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless huntsmen. They do not 224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons. Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to economize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo" partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals, because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

226 262 The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish (fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

/164 cont./

776 other cultivated land are exceptions (see the section, "Cult and Taboo," in this chapter). According to my investigations, there are in general no absolutely evil or primarily good spirits, that is to say, /165/ certain individual spirits are not regarded as representatives of evil and others as those of good. Rather, each spirit is regarded as neutral. If, however, one disturbs a spirit in his dwelling, either by cutting down the tree that represents his abode or by soiling his abode, which he finds especially unbearable if the soiling were by defecation, he becomes angry and takes his revenge on the person or persons. Only through this is the originally neutral spirit, klaň yuň, transformed into an evil one, which is then called nyŏhň. In such [782] cases one tries to ascertain whether he has actually offended [756] a spirit and strives to propitiate it. In certain cases, the help of the shaman is required, which I shall discuss in greater detail.

[774] The spirits have no connection with the souls, except in the case already described, whereby a soul, through the influence of an evil spirit, becomes an evil spirit itself through its transformation into a tiger. All the spirits are invisible and can only be seen in dreams by the soul of the sleeper. They are male or female in sex, immortal, and otherwise live like human beings. They marry, have children, and cultivate rice and other products of the fields. They are particularly fond of [241] visiting the rice fields of human beings, and in such a case these [782] obviously "evil" spirits must be chased away quickly with the help of the ancestors, and the "good" spirits have to be asked to lend their assistance for the growth and increase of field products, for which a sacrifice of chickens and alcohol is promised.

All the spirits look like human beings and seem to be [177] dressed accordingly. I was told that the evil spirits wore Chinese and Thailand military uniforms!

Besides these general spirits, so to speak, there are others to which definite characteristics and activities are attributed. [726] Some spirits, for instance, have a special liking for war. One turns to them when victory for a military campaign is desired. [326] Similarly, before a Meau works at a forge, he turns to the three

/165 cont./

326 776 spirits of the smithy, the chief spirit, dă lŭ pán, which literally means "to know great fire," and his two assistant spirits, lŭ lŭ pan and san lu pan, and asks these three spirits to help him and to see to it that the iron neither cracks nor becomes overheated. Da lu pan, the chief spirit of the smithy spirits, also taught the Meau /166/ other useful things, especially technical skills. These spirits of the smithy are of the male sex. The smiths [782] make sacrifices to them on the altar in their houses and believe that they actually live there. Before the Meau begins his work at the forge, he lights an incense candle for each of the three spirits, that is, three candles altogether, and asks dă lŭ pán and his two assistant spirits to follow him to the smithy. After that it is believed that the three spirits actually accompany the smith to the workshop and return to the dwelling after the work is done. No explanation could be given when I objected that there must be vast numbers of such spirits, since there are many Meau smiths and dă lŭ pán with his two assistant spirits lives in the house of every one of them.

756 776 [782] The teacher-spirit of the medicine man is called yŭ wăn sŭ fū. The curer makes offerings to him, with whom no assistant spirits are associated, on the altar which he has erected in his house, before he begins to treat a sick person. Two incense candles are lighted for this sacrificial act.

The shamans, too, follow a teacher-spirit, kŏ nŏ kŏ tsū. They are also helped by three pairs of assistant spirits: tă fŭ yé, lŭ fŭ yé, and săn fŭ yé.

776 Other good spirits live in the clouds. Human beings do not know how many of them, who are called sĕn šĕn, there are. In one Meau village I met a woman who was convinced that she had the special good-will of these cloud spirits, for which reason [782] she had erected in her house a special altar for them, on which she regularly offered sacrifices to the sĕn šĕn. This woman [212] believed that the cloud spirits had taught her to write! How easy it was to determine that she had seen Chinese characters among itinerant Haw traders. Upon my request she scribbled on paper fanciful characters, whose meaning, of course, she was unable to explain to me.

/192 cont./

787 general omens and those of the oracle. The oracle with the pair of chickens is used not only in connection with the birth of a child, but also on other occasions, and it has the advantage that from the combination of its omens one can see not only the good and the bad aspects, but also to what extent human beings will be able to intervene and avert evil.

The greatest importance is ascribed to oracles. The belief in the reliability of omens and oracles is so /193/ extensive that the Meau literally do not undertake anything without consulting the spirits and immediately give up any plan in case of an unfavorable answer. When I asked a female shaman to draw something [125] for me on the sheet of paper that I provided for my psychological investigations, she laid out an oracle to learn from her teacher-spirit whether and what she should draw! Only then did she take my sheet of paper and draw.

439 787 Once every year some Chinese traders (see the chapter, "Trade") visit the remote and widely scattered Meau villages in order to do business by selling goods that they bring along and by buying various products of the Meau. On these occasions it not infrequently happens that all the trouble and expense on the part of the traders has been in vain, even though the Meau for their part would have been happy to do business with them. Before any [437] trading, however, the oracle is invariably consulted, for no Meau is going to sell pigs or opium or buy silver without first consulting the spirits. If the oracle predicts an unfavorable outcome, the Chinese trader has no choice but to leave the village without having transacted any business; his long and arduous journey with porters was in vain, for he can do nothing to induce the Meau to change their minds.

123 224 [787] Even I had to submit to the verdict of the oracle, if I could not find a convincing way out. For example, Chief Tsin Tsai, whose son Lü had regained his health through my plasmochin-atabrine treatment after the conjuration, had put me under his special protection out of gratitude. Tsin Tsai was an excellent and passionate hunter. When I noticed that he was annoyed by our constant questioning or our requests for food, I proposed to [320] him, the best gunsmith for miles around, by the way, that we

/193 cont./

123 224 [321] [411] go hunting together, and immediately Tsin Tsai was again favorably disposed toward me. We would set out to hunt elephants, gaur, and other big game which, with his primitive guns, he was able to kill only at the risk of his life. His passion for hunting was so great that, even at the time of the harvest, he would drop everything in order to accept my invitation. Needless to say, Tsin Tsai also knew how to handle the crossbow, the [411] most important and favorite weapon of the Meau, or poisoned arrows, with which any game can be brought down. My high-power rifle, /194/ however, aroused general admiration, and Tsin Tsai in particular could not get his fill of looking at it; he repeatedly picked it up and stroked it lovingly.

The Meau are familiar with the habits of game to a remarkable degree, naturally far more so than we Europeans. Just as I always deferred to the natives while hunting in the tropics, here, too I followed the instructions of the bold Meau hunters. They know the weather and the wind directions in relation to the haunts of the game; they are familiar with the scarce sources of salt in the primeval forest, which are regularly visited by all the wild animals; they know whether and at what time of the day or night the various species of animals seek out the waterholes or the salt licks; they deduce from the tracks of a wounded animal when it will take cover; in a word, they know the answers to all the questions that are involved in success for a hunter in the primeval forest.

123 224 787 Chief Tsin Tsai in particular was able to answer the most incredible questions. After a short time I myself relied completely upon what he said. In order to be able to judge the extent of the knowledge possessed by this excellent hunter, I constantly posed new and more difficult questions, which nevertheless were always answered. When I tried, as far as possible, to verify his statements, I soon, to my surprise, found contradictions and inaccuracies. Finally, however, this inexplicable situation was clarified for me, when I discovered Tsin Tsai engaged in having my questions answered by the spirits by means of oracles! Apparently the spirits were less well informed about the living habits of the animals than the living Meau were!

/205 cont./

782 796 made to lay in a sufficient supply of food and game, while the domestic animals as well are available for sacrifice. Special attention is also paid to the rice cakes, great quantities of which are baked before the New Year's festival (see also the chapter, "Food and Stimulants," section on "Food").

Immediately after midnight the women begin to prepare food for the sacrifices. By breakfast time the papers (Fig. 45) on all the altars are renewed, and immediately after this meal [596] [769] the sacrifices begin, which are offered by the head of the large /extended/ family. One sacrifices first to the ancestors, then to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit, and then the sacrifices for the other spirits follow, according to both their rank and that of the sacrificers. Moreover, every Meau sacrifices to those spirits for whom he has erected special altars, in order to assure himself of their protection and help.

[769] A pair of chickens, alcohol, and rice are sacrificed to the ancestors; four incense candles are lighted on the altar and four small bowls of tea are set out for the high Father-Mother spirit; then the animals are sacrificed in front of the altar in the manner already described. Some of the blood flowing from the severed throats of the animals is caught with sacral papers and then burned. A piece of the meat of the sacrificial animals is put in each of the cups filled with tea, and the Father-Mother spirit is urged to feast well. In connection with the New Year's festival the shaman sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and to the assistant spirits by renewing the paper that adorns the altar. In addition, every [596] head of a household in the village adds his own sacrifice which is offered in front of the newly decorated altar. The offering may be a chicken or, if animals are available in abundance, even a pig.

• [326] The smith too, sacrifices to his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits. His sacrifice consists of six incense candles, a thousand pieces of sacral paper, and a pair of chickens, which are sacrificed in the ordinary way (see section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens," in this chapter), with the burning of some blood-soaked spirit-paper.

/340 cont./

224 powder, they make themselves." Abadie (1) confirms this

1. Page 162.

observation. Savina (2), too, expresses himself about the

2. II, p. 230.

hunting of the Meau: "They principally hunt the wild pig, the bear, and the deer. The deer is hunted in the mountains which they burn off every year. It always comes to eat the young shoots under the ashes. The Meau also lure it with [231 411] pieces of salt. All deer are fond of salt. They are hunted with dogs. Small game is shot with the crossbow."

In Thailand, in the habitation areas of the Meau, conditions are different insofar as burning the jungle for hunting purposes is impossible, since the damp, in part even succulent plants do not burn. In any case, high grass, which would nevertheless make burning on a large scale possible, does not grow under the trees.

224 411 As hunting weapons, the Meau use the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93 and Figs. 316-320),[1] with which effective poisoned arrows are also shot. The flintlock gun (Ill. 78 and Figs. 306-[326] 308),[2] which they know how to manufacture themselves, is also important.

224 262 Everything that inhabits the jungle, as long as it has hair or feathers, is regarded as game by the Meau. Everything is used from the mouse to the elephant, from the small mammal to the wild peacock, with the exception of the large black squirrel, although there are, of course, considerable gradations in popularity. Elephant, rhinoceros, deer, muntjac, and wild pig are especially desired. Birds, on the [223] other hand, are less so, because they provide too little meat, as the informants said. Lizards, snakes, and worms, on the other hand, are not eaten.

1 [see cat 116, pp 576, 643, +530 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " , pp 576 + 526 - "]

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/387 cont./

411 In addition there are double-edged swords for close com-
177 bat. They are like the spirit-swords in shape, are probably of Chinese origin, and are made longer or shorter in size according to the physical strength of the bearer. The spirit-swords
[178] present today show a close relationship with Chinese elements, whereas we found only one old war-sword anymore (Fig. 305).
[175] The old Chinese literature mentions curved swords (1); in this

1. Eberhard, II, p. 254.

connection my finding a ceremonial sword of bronze is of interest (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," Fig. 55).

Today, the most important weapons of the Meau by far are the /388/ flintlock gun (Ill. 78, Fig. 306) and the crossbow (Figs. 316 and 317), which have pushed all other weapons into the background. Although originally the guns undoubtedly must have been of European origin, nevertheless, in the course of time the Meau
[324] have developed a peculiar form of gun which they can manufacture themselves in every detail. They are even able to produce the
[439] barrels of their guns; to be sure, they buy the iron from Chinese traders. The firearms made with it are flintlock guns (Ill. 78 and Fig. 306), which are equipped with only a pistol grip. It

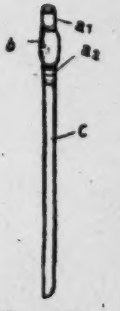

Fig. 305
Sword of the Meau, 1/15 nat. size.
a = brass mounting,
b = wooden grip,
c = blade.
The sword is stuck into a long, narrow wooden sheath.

is not easy to shoot with it. The recoil smashed the nasal bone of one of my porters who tried it. /Figs. 306-308 appear here./

1 [see cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]

/390 cont./
389 iron pan slightly warmed over an open fire, allowed to dry, and the now firm mass is pounded to powder with the help of a wooden peg (Fig. 315).

411 Since there are only a few armorers among the Meau and the raw material for making guns must be obtained from the [324] Chinese trader, this weapon is not as generally /391/ wide-[439] spread by far as the crossbow (Ills. 79 and 93),[1] which the Meau are able to manage expertly.

The crossbow of the Meau is made very solidly out of hard wood and has the form shown in Fig. 317. It consists of a stock (a) with a guide groove (d) for the arrow, a bow of hardwood (b), and a recessed trigger (c) with a catch (e). The size of the crossbow varies and is regulated by the size and strength of the owner. The two most common kinds of trigger are represented by Figs. 316 and 318. The bowstring (f) con-[283] sists of rattan fibers twisted together. The cross-section of the arrow shaft (Fig. 319) is round and measures about four millimeters. The feathering, folded strips of bamboo ten to twelve millimeters wide, is clamped into the split part of the shaft and secured by a tight lashing. /Figs. 316-320 appear here./

[224] /392/ The accuracy of such a crossbow is only half as great as that of the gun, as is its penetrating power. Since the crossbow arrows (Figs. 319 and 320) are strongly poisoned, however, and in the primeval forest shooting is done only at short range, large game, indeed, even pachyderms, are killed with this weapon by the Meau.

Certain tribes must have used powerful crossbows in war. [175] The old Chinese literature, for instance, mentions crossbows which had to be cocked by three men. Poisoned arrows were shot with such crossbows (1). At that time mighty bows were

1. Eberhard, II, p. 259.

also still in use, which probably were superseded by the cross-bow at a very early date.

1 [See cat 116, pp 576 + 643 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--568 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/423/

Chapter 23

Trade

438 As is already clear from the preceding chapters, a
463 division of labor is only slightly developed among the Meau. Everyone undertakes the general tasks, and special talents are only secondarily cultivated and practiced. Accordingly, there
[441] are no "traders" among the Meau, and no carrying trade within the tribe. Even within the family community the producer is at the same time the seller of his wares. For example, the Meau woman who enjoys a special reputation as a batik worker sells directly her batik material produced in addition to her daily work, and likewise a boy his crossbow, or the smith his
[596] products. The head of the family disposes of things that belong to the family in common, such as the products of the field.

[614] Since each sib produces for itself almost everything that is necessary for life, the only things that come into consideration as trade articles within the tribal community are those made by means of the very special ability or knowledge of individual
[756] persons. The shaman, for instance, makes amulets of special
[789] efficacy; the smith makes guns, tools, knives, and ornaments;
[326] an especially good batik worker works in other houses for pay, and so forth.

463 Anyone who is outstanding as a result of such special
554 achievements occupies a privileged social position and is properly
[465] paid for his work by those who ask for it, but this is more an honorarium of recognition. Otherwise, people help one another,
476 for instance, if someone has run out of maize or lacks a tool. In such cases one is always able to turn to his neighbors, who are ready to help and who do the work when needed, even if they do not expect any payment.

439 The attitude toward the foreign traders, usually Chinese, is altogether different. In northern Thailand it is primarily western /424/ Chinese, called the Haw, who supply the Meau with wares that, to be sure, are not crucial, but nevertheless are of significance for the Meau. From these traders the Meau, as

/424 cont./

437 There are no articles that can only be bought with money
439 or with a specific barter commodity. If a person does not have any /425/ silver, he is free to give opium, game, or field produce in payment instead, just as he may buy silver, that is, coins, by means of such articles (see the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," the section, "Property Law").

439 The Meau do not hold any markets of their own in northern
[443] Thailand and do not visit, in contrast to the Meau settled in
[184] Indochina, the markets of the Lao and Schan /Shan/ living in the valleys. Occasionally, to be sure, Lao traders appear among the Meau with their principal article of trade, salt, but usually the Meau undertake the journey in order to acquire the precious product from a Lao in the valley below or occasionally visit the Yau /Yao/ villages in order to buy silver ornaments, since the Yau enjoy a certain reputation as skilled silversmiths.

[184] As a result of closer contact with the Chinese and
439 Annamese, trade seems to be more highly developed among
114 the Meau in Indochina. Concerning this, Lajonquière (1) writes

1. II, p. 311.

writes: "They produce almost everything that is needed for their subsistence, but without getting any other advantage from it." Abadie (2), too, confirms this statement. Lajonquière con-

2. Page 161.

[273] tinues: "Nevertheless, a few distill alcohol from maize and
[325] sago for the valley dwellers. Others produce spades and plow-
[326] shares from the raw iron that they buy in the markets, and
[323] finally others make pottery. The manufacture of guns, which was formerly current among them, is gradually disappearing through the ease of importation."

/425 cont./

439 These observations are especially interesting because I [114] found exactly the opposite among the Meau in northern Thailand: they produce their guns themselves, but have no [326] knowledge of pottery!

[323] The author continues his desctiption [184] of the trade: "Trade is restricted to a locality and limited to bartering for a few things that are not part of their subsistence, namely, to certain luxury items, such as ornaments, colored silk, and ribbons. We have already mentioned that they are now beginning to buy even fabrics of European origin. In the region of Lao-Chay, a sector of Than-Thuy, they carry on a [314] special trade in wood for the making of coffins. These are fossilized woods (usually the tree of life, note by Dr. B.) which were buried by earthquakes and which petrified, a property that makes them sought by the Chinese, who like to bury their dead in such wood. The /426/ Meau of this region dig up these [314] woods, cut them into thick planks, and drag these heavy loads through forests and gorges in order to sell them on the 'T'ou-se-meo' of Mung-Tung."

At another place (1), Lajonquière comes back to the

1. II, p. 309.

silk of foreign origin previously mentioned by him: "All [596] clothing is made exclusively within the family. They procure [294] from the outside only the colored silk for the embroideries and the colorful bands which fops are beginning to add to their attire... [286] The custom of buying cotton goods on the market or among the natives who produce it is spreading more and more, for the weaving of hemp is difficult and laborious." We find this observation, too, confirmed by Abadie (2).

2. Page 161.